/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing

[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstruation (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[192]

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and Aramamesteri who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxik -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxibe. These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[824] [386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

/42 cont./

304
171 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxí /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

304
171 There are also slight differences with regard to the time of tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first
881 menstruation, the Arekuná-Taulipang and Makuxí, on the other
[184] hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

Surára
Pakidái

595 /66 cont./

The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

• 881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During 304 the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life. 881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

• 881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
ooo the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] 343 841 881 We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we understood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 During the first two or three days the young husband remains
583 in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation,
[476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once con-
627 sent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they
595 reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is
881 still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

844 /489 cont./
123 They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

• 881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable chil-
122 dren. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

593 important in the organization of village life as ties between
621 male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 Males consider their role as sister's protector with
601 some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwi, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective
561 sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually
281 to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage
[281] for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

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When Kaobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobimou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*ro*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kaobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kaobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hakuru*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The